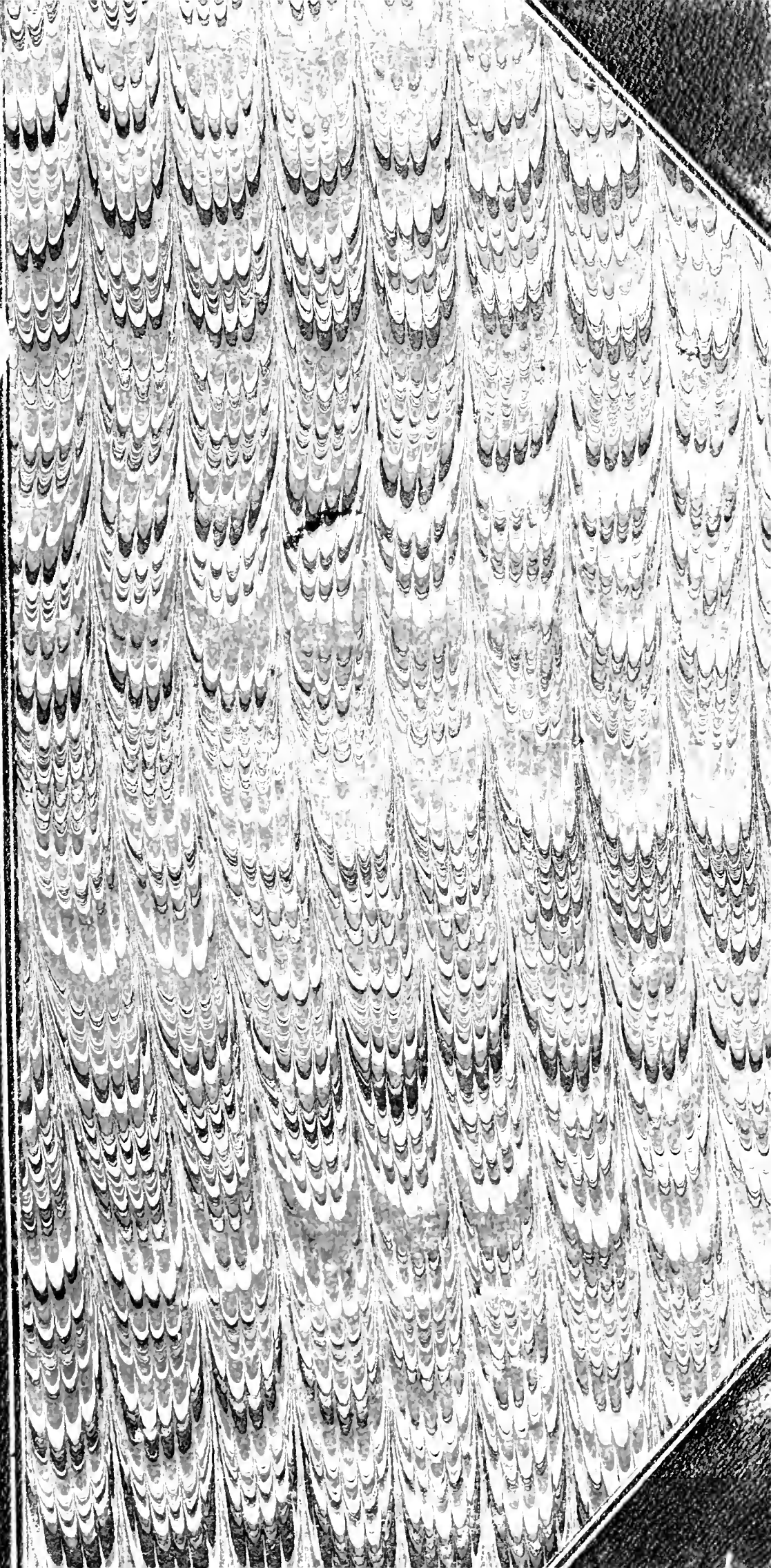


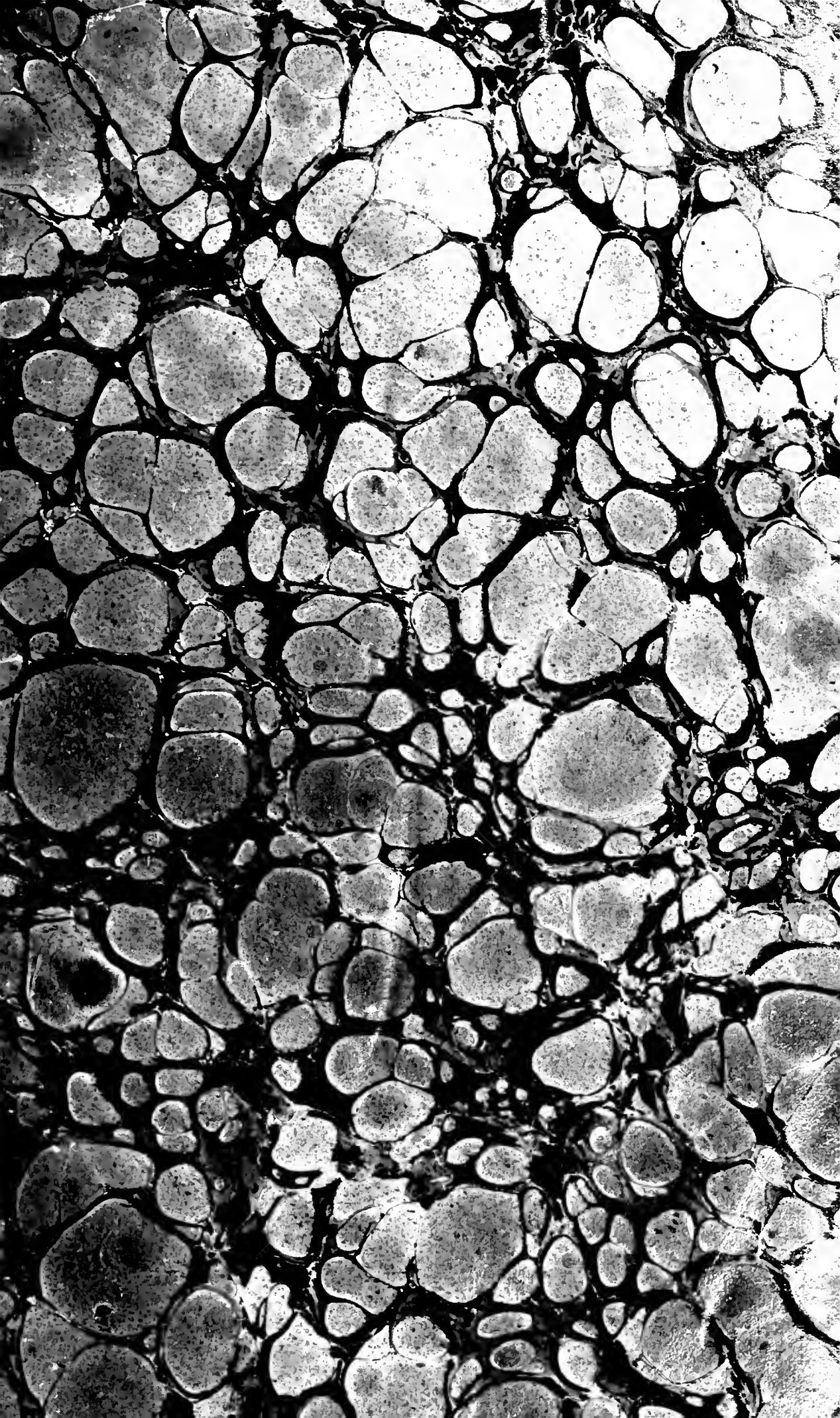
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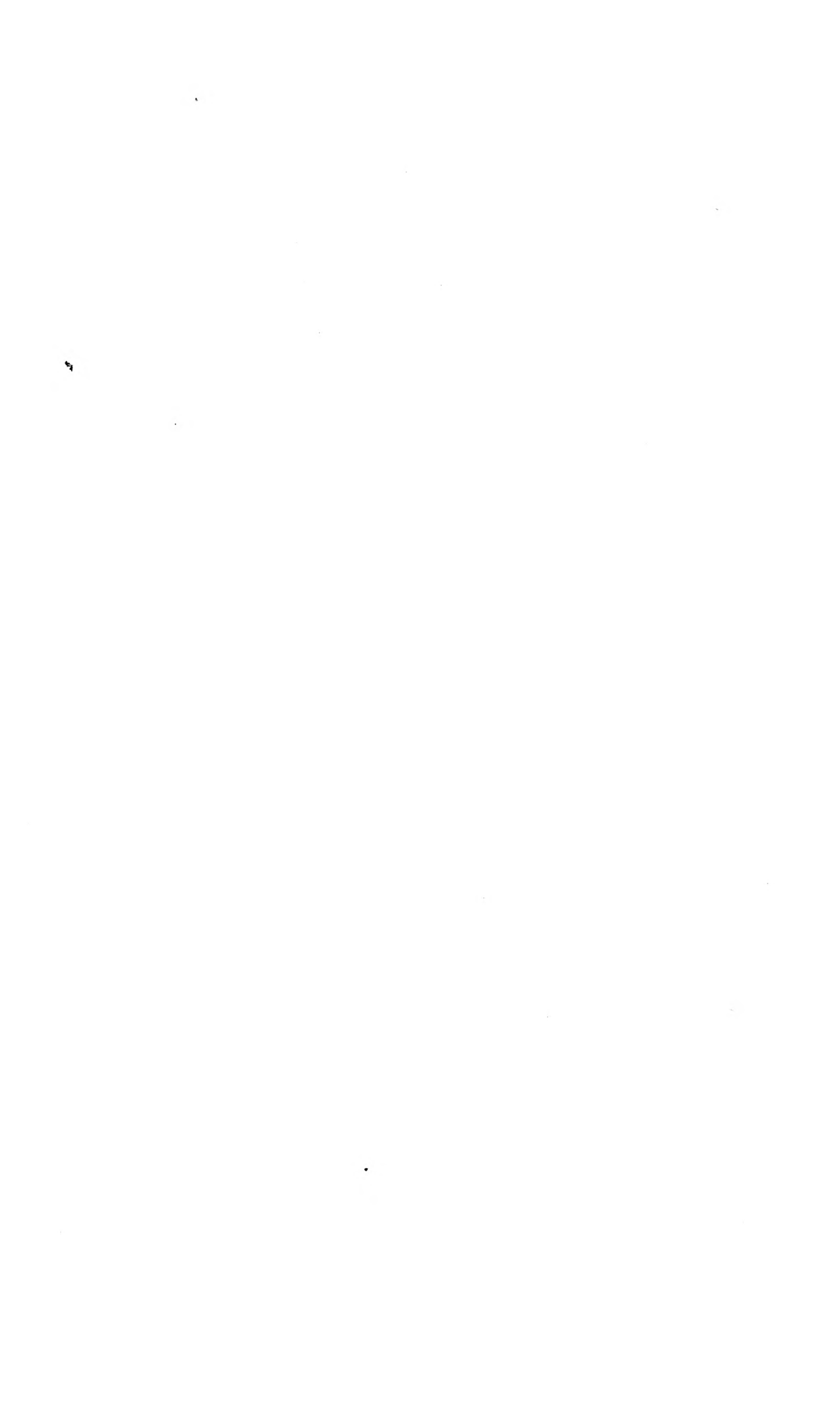


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Gov. Strong's Calumniator Reproved,

IN A

REVIEW

OF A

DEMOCRATIC PAMPHLET

ENTITLED,

REMARKS ON THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

John K. Bell

“Lorsque la raison, les talens, les mœurs, de ce jeune homme auroit acquis un peu de maturité, il sentiroit l'extrême obligation qu'il vous aura de l'avoir corrigé.”——VOLTAIRE.

When this young man's talents, reason and manners shall have been a little more matured, he will acknowledge the obligation he is under to you for having corrected him.

BY

NO BEL-ESPRIT.

BOSTON:

FROM THE OFFICE OF THE REPERTORY AND DAILY ADVERTISER.

W. W. CLAPP, PRINTER.

1844.

1841
59216

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

PRESIDENT ADAMS, in his early and best writings demonstrated, that the greatest danger to our Republican Institutions, arose from their tendency to *DEMOCRACY*. The experience of thirty years has shewn, that if he had the frailties of a man, he had the spirit of a Prophet. We have seen in succession some of the best, and wisest men compelled either from disgust, or a want of deserved confidence on the part of the people, to quit the care of our public affairs, and we have seen them pass into the hands of those who have no other qualification than the despicable art of flattering the people. Power thus obtained has been used (as you would expect it would be) solely for the purpose of its own preservation. The nation has been disgraced and impoverished, and but for the interference of Divine Providence, would soon have been ruined. Events entirely out of their controul, have compelled our government to abandon their worst measures and to acknowledge the correctness of the opinion of their opponents. The temptation offered by our administration which has made an absolute devotion to its views, the indispensable pre-requisite to office, has a strong tendency to debauch the principles of the ambitious, while their measures by impoverishing the country have as it were compelled them to have recourse to the government for their future success.

IN some States, this has bred up a mongrel race who have assumed the character of a third party, because the transition is more easy and less violent from such a party to the ranks of administration.

IN *MASSACHUSETTS*, we have hitherto succeeded in keeping up the definit lines of distinction between true republicans, and those who under that sacred appellation would undermine the foundation of society.

THIS has been effected principally by compelling every man to choose his side, and by making no compromise with wavering ambition.

IF men find, they must choose between correct principles, and open Democratic doctrines, if by apostatizing they must forfeit the respect, confidence, and friendship of the wise, and good, and associate with the *GERRY'S*, the *AUSTIN'S*, and the *HOLMES'*—Many of them will be deterred from making so great a sacrifice.

THESE considerations together with a wish to shew, that the assailant of Governor *STRONG*, is not altogether the fittest man to be consulted as a politician have induced us to make the following Remarks.

THE recent *ELECTIONS* have shewn that *MASSACHUSETTS* does not furnish food for a third party. The union of the greatest talents, and the greatest wealth, with great pretensions of moderation, could only effect 75 or 80 votes in the capital. A greater number could easily be bought—in other countries.

1845 Aug 2/12

Review, &c.

No. 1.

“*Locus est et pluribus umbris*”—JUVENAL.
“There are places for many hangers on.” The *Pupil* followeth the *Master*.

We should not have dared to suggest that a writer of such high pretensions as our author, who settles the character of Governour Strong as soon as Lord Ellenborough would fix the fate of a pick-pocket,

“Who deals damnation round the land,
“On all he deems his foes”

ever had a *master*, if he had not told us so himself. We should rather have thought him a heaven-taught, heaven inspired genius, that would have disdained to follow the footsteps of any master any more than in the path of common sense. To vulgar readers we must apologise for introducing a latin motto. The writer with whom we are about to reason, is reputed a scholar, and he would make but little account of a reviewer who did not understand Latin. As our object is to convince, as well as to confute, we thought it best to give some idea of our attainments, and with our author a *little* Latin seems to be deemed a *great* attainment. We do not, however, aim at rivalling this bel-esprit, for we agree with an admirable French saying, “*Il y a de beaux esprits qui n’ont pas le sens commun.*”—Your men of wit and learning often have every species of sense but *what is useful*. We are persuaded, before we have done with our young author, that every body will perceive, that he has at least *this* claim to the character of a bel-esprit.

It is always immaterial who the author of a political work is, and where it is pernicious in its tendency, it is best, that we should remain in ignorance. It would seem, however, that the writer had a great desire to be known. A copy has been

left at the Athenæum, endorsed “by the author,” and the following lines together with internal evidence, excite very strong suspicions, that it is some young man whose mind has been poisoned by the political prejudices, and encouraged by the successful example of his master.

“*Le Maître, qui prit soin d’instruire ma jeunesse, Ne m’a jamais appris de faire une bassesse.*”

“The master who took the pains of instructing my youth, never taught me to commit a base deed.” He would have been a very *singular* master, if he had.—We shall see hereafter what his master *did* teach him, and that he has been a *very apt* scholar. Who this master is, we are not told, but from the utter contempt which the pupil discovers for the opinions of others, from the conceited display of his reading, from the bitter sarcastic spirit which is intimately mingled with every part of this pamphlet, and from the hardihood of bold assertion which is to be met with in it, we think it would make a very good match for Mr. J. Q. Adams’s review of Ames’s works, from which its worst sentiments seem to be taken, with the infusion of a little fresh gall to render the draught more bitter.

This writer, it would seem, from his prefatory remarks, is extremely sensible to any censure passed upon his essays, which, however well deserved, he considers as *abuse*.

What special privilege this gentleman is entitled to, of shooting his poisoned arrows into every crowd he sees, and even occasionally of taking deliberate aim at the unoffending victims of his spleen, and yet of being free from that just animadversion which ought always to fall on calumniators, let the public decide.

This we shall not merely say of this pamphlet, but prove; that never perhaps were there found, in any equal number of pages, the marks of greater conceit, contempt for the opinions, and disregard of the feelings of good and venerable men. It would indeed seem as if the whole effort of the author's mind was, to see how many established principles he could attack, how much contempt and sarcasm he could discover, how many ill-deserved reproaches he could bring against persons who certainly have never injured him, and of whom (the best apology you could make for him would be) he *knew nothing*; for this would be the only one which could save him from the reputation of wilful calumny.

It is a painful task to shew, that a young man of so much promise may, if he perseveres in such writings, prove as great a mischief as he might have been a blessing to society; That the genius and learning which might have added to the dignity and security of the state, may be employed in its demolition. But painful as it is, it must be performed. It is the only security we have for the preservation of the few blessings we have left. What! shall the thousand minor moral offences against the peace and well being of society, call forth the eloquence of the moralist and divine, and shall principles which tend to its utter destruction pass unnoticed? It is with regret, that we see such a mind, like a fair and healthy flower, blasted just before it expanded, by the pernicious and poisonous mildew of a miscalculating ambition. Let us now give one or two examples to shew that our expressions as to this pamphlet are not too strong. When originally published in the Patriot, the following quotation from Tacitus was directly applied to the aged and venerable Strong:—"Liberty and other specious names are often used as pretexts; and every man who desires to obtain *tyrannical* power affects to do it under the name of Liberty."

Again. "The project of separation is openly avowed. The Senate chamber and House have rung with this *treasonable* note. It is even intimated in the Governor's Speech." As this is untrue we need not say it is cruel and slanderous. Again, speaking of the Governor's Speech, he says, "It was issued pretty

soon after the *Prince Regent's Manifesto* was received here, and was nearly of the same length. We never took the trouble to compare them, but the impression we received from reading the Governor's was, that a large proportion of it was *copied verbatim* from the Prince Regent's."

We forbear to remark on the coarseness and vulgarity of this abuse. We suspect from it the school in which he was brought up. We knew a great foreign minister who went from writing lampoons on a distinguished democrat, to a shameful libel on the deceased Ames, while his immortal spirit was still on its flight to heaven. We ask, did this gentleman *believe* that *one sentence* in the Governor's Speech was *copied verbatim* from the *Prince Regent's manifesto*? We wish we could charitably view this in any other light than as a gross libel. This writer adds, "Your Excellency has shewn your *usual judgment* in making your solemn communication to the Legislature the vehicle of *party feelings* and opinions."

It would seem to be unreasonable after these dreadful examples of an unbridled tongue, if this gentleman should complain of abuse. Yet so consistent is he, as to be so deeply wounded at a suggestion that "he had read more than he thought, and that he had entered the road of false ambition" from which he was kindly advised to turn back, that he has made various attacks on a writer who he fancied gave him that friendly advice.

Among other efforts our young writer, after saying with the *modesty* of his supposed master, that a man who is not *convinced* by his arguments, must be proof against all further attempts in prose, soars into the regions of poetry and wit, and treats us with nearly one hundred lines of blank verse, which, from the following specimen, our readers will think too dull if intended to be burlesque, and too burlesque if intended to be dull. In a delicate and very gentlemanly manner they are applied to the pirate, Dalton.

Joy to thee Dalton, thy release is come;
I'm glad the President had grace enough
To pardon thee at last. Thy crime, I ween
Was ignorance not malice: head not heart
Was wanting to thee: Thou hadst as good a
will

As any Prince or potentate of them all
To thieve on other's earnings; but the manner—
Failed thee—Things have chang'd since Shakspeare's time,

There's virtue in a name. A Pirate. Fie on't,
Belligerents the name.

For what do you think these and twenty equally elegant lines were written? To ridicule one sentence in a pamphlet long since forgotten, entitled *Madison's war*. The writer however should have said that he mutilated those lines and applied them to poor Walton. The original verses we may suppose, were in true burlesque, and were applied to a young scholar.

“ Our pity, gentle youth awaits thee ;
For whether from the Picrian fount, a shallow draught ;
Or airy hopes dissolv'd, thy reason hath disturb'd,
We know not. But sure some Gnome malevolent
Hath fir'd thy youthful brain : Else why such strange
Mishapen fantasies, such hideous spectres rais'd
Where to the sound and healthful eye of truth
no forms appear ?
“ Much learning makes thee mad” or else perchance
Too little ; and too great conceit of that thou hast.

Thy fault is vanity not malice, and thy defect
In head not heart

Thou hast as good a will
As any prince or minister of them all
To hold a place of note—but the manner—
Fails thee.

There are those we know who say “ let it alone. It is too dull to do much mischief. Austin and Waterhouse with the populace will beat him every day.”

We grant it can do but little mischief with common readers, because they cannot comprehend it, nor with men of mature sense, because they see its sophomorical fallacies. But it is calculated to entrap your half-fledged scholars, who, not having strength or courage to trust their own wings, are willing to be borne along by one who takes so lofty, or so *low* a flight, and who exhibits such a satisfied air of his own strength and agility. It is entirely adapted to delude weak minds by its imposing audacity.

We mean not to review it artificially and according to the rules, but to detect some of its fallacies, to expose the ignorance of this learned scholar, and sometimes to reprove his rashness.

We shall first see how his two friends whom he *praises*, Adams and Dexter are to be reconciled, when the latter denounces the measures of the former as the most base and unprincipled ever adopted. This we shall prove. We hope not to set these gentlemen at loggerheads.

2dly. Make a collection of all his unfounded assertions and insinuations and mistakes, as to matters of fact.

3dly. Answer his reasoning if we can find it out. We almost despair of convincing *him*. His disease seems to be too deeply seated. But we are persuaded every body who has read his pamphlet will be convinced that he has been unguarded and ungrateful towards men to whom he and we are indebted for the preservation of liberty, religion, and literature.

No. 2.

“ *Le maître qui a pris soin d'instruire ma jeunesse,*

“ *Né m'a jamais appris de faire une bassesse.*”

It is not our design to prove, that the *master* of our author ever taught him to commit a *base* action, but to show what the Honourable Samuel Dexter, Esquire, has said of one of his master's own actions.

It will not be admitted by our author, that his master was a weak, ignorant, incapable man ; that he did not understand the constitution, and the right and interests of the people who elected him to support those interests. This would be to defend his principles and integrity at the expense of his understanding.

Upon a question of so vital a nature as that of the right of Congress to interdict and destroy all the commercial interests of New-England, it is not to be presumed, that Mr. Adams did not exert all the powers of his mind, enriched, as our author must admit, with much ancient and modern learning.

Weakness or ignorance cannot be imputed to him, however some of us may doubt the effect of his prejudices.

When the embargo in 1808 was proposed, a measure as much worse than the *existing* one as possible, because it was *without* limitation, and therefore *perpetual*, (unless all the three branches of the government should concur in its repeal,) the Hon. John Quincy Adams not only voted for it, but gave it, his most ardent, and slavish support.

Of *this measure*, the Hon. Mr. Dexter says, “ that it overleaps the constitution, is ineffectual, tends to destroy “ the rights and interests of the commercial states, promotes perjury and vice,

“and aims a fatal blow at the prosperity of the country.”

To *such an act* Mr. Adams gave his assent, and to him alone probably we owe all the evils which have followed from this restrictive system; for had he supported the *rights and interests* of the people who elected him, it is very probable that act would never have passed.

It would seem to follow then, either that Mr. Dexter's censures of this act are unfounded, or that Mr. Adams did not understand the constitution, and the horrible effects ascribed to this act by Mr. Dexter; or else, that understanding them, he basely agreed to the passage of such an act.

We are indifferent which side of the question our author will take. Either Mr. Adams does not understand the constitution, or Mr. Dexter *misapprehended its provisions*, or Mr. Adams acted a *base and wicked part*.

We do not choose to decide between so great men. Yet our young author recommends them *both* to our confidence and respect.

If either of them is mistaken on so *fundamental* a point; if either of them is capable either of violating the constitution, destroying the rights, and aiming a fatal blow at the liberties of the people, he is unworthy of our confidence, and so is *every man* brought up in his principles. On the other hand, if these acts are improperly arraigned, if such charges against them are unfounded, the *man* who makes them is unworthy of our confidence, but the author was wrong in recommending *him* to our suffrages as he has *most explicitly done*.

This however, is not the *worst* side of this picture. Our author *himself* defends the embargo, as just, constitutional, and legal. Mr. Dexter condemns it as the result of folly, and wickedness, and tyranny.—Now either Mr. Dexter was *honest* in this denunciation, or he was *not*.

If *honest* then he must in the opinion of our *author* and of Mr. Adams, be *weak* and unfit to manage public affairs, because *they both* treat the right to lay an Embargo, as unquestionable, and sneer at the opposition to it, as *weak and wicked*.

If Mr. Dexter was *not sincere* in his opposition to it, he must be unprincipled.

Let the author settle this point between his two honorable friends.

For *ourselves*, we have no hesitation to say, that we think Mr. Dexter, much the most qualified judge. He is a much greater man than our author or his master. He is a much more profound lawyer. He may not be so good a judge of a *modern novel*, or a work of one of the *German literati*, but he is better acquainted with our constitution and laws.

He is a more profound reasoner than *either* of them, and he has had 20 years more experience and study on questions of this sort. As to our *author*, we doubt whether he knows much about the constitution of our country, and he is one of the last men who would be selected to decide upon a great legal and constitutional question. We say this merely from the internal evidence which his pamphlet affords of the rawness, and superficiality of his knowledge.

Mr. Dexter's opinion, upon the unconstitutionality of the Embargo on which he has thought much, and reasoned *often*, is of great weight. It conforms to that of all the honest men of New-England, who are capable of forming a judgment.

Our author must therefore either agree, that Mr. Adams and himself do *not understand* the constitution, or that Mr. Dexter, who has had so much more time to examine it than they have had, is a *weak* or a *wicked* man for uttering such sentiments against that act.

Again.—Suppose Mr. Dexter is a *poor* lawyer, and does not understand the constitution and laws as well as our author and Mr. Adams, who have never had half the opportunity of studying them; and suppose that *inestimable* act called the Embargo, is as wise and constitutional as the author contends, yet when it was *first* introduced, as it deeply affected our *dearest interests*, it deserved a *discussion*; Mr. Adams, representing the most commercial state, was the special guardian of its interests, and whatever might have been his *private opinion*, he was *bound to deliberate*, and weigh its possible effects.

Yet we know, that when that act passed through the Senate in 24 hours, Mr. Adams declared, “that as the *Pres-*

IDENT recommended the measure he would not deliberate.

This sentiment in ancient Rome, even under the Cæsars, would have been pronounced base.

He was sent there to deliberate. The opinion of the President ought to have had no effect on his judgment. It was a desertion of our rights and interests for which he received an early, too early compensation. Our author may defend him if he pleases. The number of apostates may increase so as to diminish the odium of such conduct. But if our posterity should ever become more pure, or if an independent historian should arise to hand down the events of the present day, to an unimpassioned race who may succeed us, they will say, that whatever Mr. Adams's instructions to his pupils may have been, his example was most pernicious.

We have then shewn, that Mr. Dexter, whom our author praises often, and recommends to our support, condemns as the basest and most wicked acts those very measures which our author approves, and which Mr. Adams not only supported but supported in language unbecoming a freeman.

We have one other case to cite as to the honourable or base manner in which Mr. Adams by example brought up his pupils. We give it no character, let the people decide.

A certain Hon. John Smith was supposed to be implicated in Burr's conspiracy. For our argument we shall suppose that he was justly charged.—We practice, though we do not expect frankness, in return.

Still by the laws of the land, by Magna Charta, by the principles of eternal justice, every man is to be presumed innocent until he is proved guilty.

It was impossible to convict Smith.—The evidence was weak. A Jury could not be trusted. The President got up a supple committee in the Senate to convict him “a la mode de France, par acclamation” The Hon. Mr. Adams was on this committee. He drew up a report declaring this man guilty, and expelling him from the Senate. All men were shocked at the profligacy of this report. This common lawyer, this man who had attacked Jefferson and support-

ed Burke against Paine's rights of man, sneered at the Judiciary, “the curtain of artificial forms, and the snail like pace of the common law”—He proposed a revolutionary trial and conviction. Even the Senate, then wholly under Presidential influence, so trembled at the expression of public sentiment, that they rejected Adams's report. Yet we are now told that this instructor, “ne m'a jamais appris de faire une bassesse.”

No. 3.

“The whole merit of it (the project of separation) belongs to a faction of the Federal party, powerful neither in numbers nor talents, perhaps not more extensive than the exclusive six hundred of Mr. Ames, but who contrive by intrigue and art, by virtue of former services, and by keeping the people in ignorance of their real views, to wield at will the Legislature of Massachusetts. The distinction between the Federalists and the Junto is perfectly well known in town and country.” This most disgraceful passage, as it is the pith of the whole pamphlet, shall engage at this time our exclusive attention. We shall not stop to comment on its puerile inconsistencies.

That a faction, powerful neither in number or talents, should be able to wield at will the Legislature of Massachusetts, would appear to an unlettered mind somewhat strange. That this faction should do it by concealing their views from the Legislature, while it seems the distinction between them and federalists is perfectly well known both in town and country, is certainly one of those singular cases which would require another pamphlet to explain.

That the Legislature, selected generally from the people for their talents and virtues, should be so weak as to be led by any Junto, is somewhat of a reproach on a free form of government; but that knowing the distinction perfectly well between the great body of Federalists, and these wicked leaders, they should still suffer them to wield them at will, is most assuredly an anomaly in the history of mankind. Surely such a Legislature cannot boast of their reason as a faculty to distinguish them from the brute.

If the above calumny on some portion, indefinite, undescribed portion of the Federal party, had the merit of novelty, we should then only say of it that it was untrue, mean, and malicious; but as it has been repeated by Duane and Austin more than five thousand times; as it formed the whole web and warp of Sallust, our author's immediate predecessor in Patriot calumny, we must say that it is also weak.

The speeches and calumnies of Caius and Tiberius Gracchus, of Mark Antony, and Clodius, are not preserved, but I have no doubt they talked then of a faction, and denounced Cato, Cicero and Atticus, as our author does Strong, Ames and Cabot, as a Junto powerful neither in numbers or talents.

Our author has accused Gov. Strong of *copying the Prince Regent's Manifesto*; we shall now shew that our author made pretty free use of Adams's review of Ames's works.

“It is a melancholy contemplation of human nature (says the tender-hearted John Q. Adams) to see a mind so richly cultivated as that of Mr. Ames, soured and exasperated into the very ravings of a bedlamite. But the apology that is due to him is not equally the right of others. There are those who, without believing one word of this political creed, are as eager for its propagation as he was; *Verily they expect their reward*. If they can fill the whole people with madness like that of the royal fox, if they can fill the brains of the whole nation with a fancy that we have all been transformed into the vilest of the brute creation, save only *the choice spirits* amounting to at most six hundred, the next step follows of course. The porcelain must rule over the earthen ware. The multitude must put themselves bound hand and foot into the custody of the *lynx eyed seraphic souls* of the six hundred, and then all must go and squat together for protection under the hundred heads of the British Briareus.”

Adams.

We can assure the readers, that the above is not from the pen of Clough, or Austin, or Tom Webb, but of the Hon. John Q. Adams, late Professor of Ora-

tory, “*qu'ire m'a jamais appris à faire une bassesse.*”

It is one of the simplest, most tempting, at the same time that it is the *basest way* of rising to power and place in a free government, to excite the jealousy of the people against their *best* friends. The modesty of real worth, the aversion to the disgraceful contentions of party, naturally incline the best men to seek retirement. In their domestic circle they find a solace, and some relief from the anxiety which they feel when they see the public affairs ill-administered, and public liberty endangered.

When a man wishes to excite the popular jealousy, he deals in general criminations. The more obscure and confused, the more room for the imagination, and the less liable is the author of such calumnies to be detected. We however ask, Who are these artful, intriguing men of whom Mr. Adams speaks, but of whom his pupil could know nothing but from him? *Personally* no pupil of Mr. Adams *could* have been admitted to the confidence or friendship of *every* man who loved or revered Mr. Ames. The spectres vanish as soon as you oblige men to name these magicians who direct our public affairs.

This gentleman's predecessors in calumny have, however, named Strong and Cabot, and Ames and Parsons.

Men can hardly be presumed to take an active part in public affairs, without motives. Of the motives of men we must decide solely by their conduct.

“If there were any men, beloved, esteemed, respected above others in this state, they were the men I have named. If there were men who had influence arising from a conviction of their talents and virtues, these were the men. If in short there was any foundation for the opinion, (which we doubt) that any particular men had more influence on public opinion than other able ones, I presume the public would have agreed that those were *of the number*, and this merely because if any men deserved public confidence, they did.

Now let us compare the conduct of these men with Mr. John Quincy Adams's. I do not remember one instance

in which either of them obtained an office for one of his family. One of them, the Governour, has served the public, for 30 years; for twenty of them he received only the compensation of a legislator, and his whole receipts from the public, are but one sixth of the sum received by John Q Adams. He has never had one foreign mission, one such sinecure of which J. Q Adams has had four. He asked for none. He would have accepted none. Ames and Cabot were dragged, indeed scourged into office. The former sacrificed his life in the public cause, and his reward is, to be abused after his decease, as the pretended author of aristocratical sentiments and opinions.

The late Chief Justice Parsons could never be persuaded to take any part in public affairs during the last fifteen years of his life.

Mr. John Q. Adams, who denounces these gentlemen as artful, intriguing men, held an office *before he went to College*, for which he received 2410 dollars, 3-90, which paid twice the amount of the expenses of his College education. He has since received 110,000 dollars from the public, and what have been his services? a treaty with Prussia, with whom our concerns have not been worth a year's salary. Except that single treaty, his offices have been and still are perfect sinecures.

Yet these are the men who accuse the most modest, retiring, and disinterested patriots with sinister and wicked designs.

But if it was necessary for *our author* to cite examples of men who maintained what they please to call *aristocratic opinions*, why violate the sanctity of the grave? Could not the works of living men furnish him with sentiments as well suited to stir up the populace against virtue, and learning, and talent, as Mr. Ames's writings?

Let us see what President Adams says: "Aristides, Fabricius, and Cincinnatus are always quoted, as if such characters were *always* to be found in sufficient numbers to *protect* liberty, and a cry and shew of *liberty* is set up by the *profligate and abandoned*, such as would sell their Fathers, their Country and their God, for *profit, place and power.*"

We know who have. Both, our author and his master have a sneer about Mr. Ames's "*six hundred.*" Let us hear *old Mr. Adams* on that topic in his letter to Samuel Adams. "The love of liberty, says President Adams, you say is interwoven in the soul of man. So it is, says La Fontaine in that of the Wolf, and I doubt whether it be much stronger, or more generous or social in one than the other, until in man it is enlightened by experience, reflection, education and political institutions which are first produced and constantly supported BY A FEW, that is the NOBILITY."

It cannot be reproached to Strong, or his friends, that they were disposed to *sell* any thing for *profit, place or power*

If it would not be really mean, to pursue this subject, and to condemn Mr. Adams with the populace for the honest, honourable and well intended endeavours which he made to introduce correct ideas among the people, we could quote opinions which ought to raise a blush on the cheek of any man who misrepresenting Mr. Ames's views, and the honest design of the federal party, would exhibit them as the enemies of public liberty, of which they were the firmest friends. We shall not express the contempt we feel for such sentiments as those of J. Q. Adams and our author, as to Mr. Ames's aristocratical ideas.

We shall set old Mr. Adams to making the reply, because he will do it with more severity than we should do.

It will be found in his letter to S. Adams, in 1790:

"Blind, undistinguishing reproaches against the aristocratical part of mankind, a division which nature has made and we cannot abolish, are not pious or benevolent. They are as pernicious as they are false. They serve only to foment jealousy, envy, animosity and malevolence; They serve no ends but those of sophistry, *fraud and a spirit of party.*" Again,—“The miserable stuff they utter against the well-born is as despicable as themselves. Let us be impartial: there is not more family pride on one side than vulgar malignity and popular envy on the other.”

We leave our author and Mr. J. Q.

Adams to settle this point with the old gentleman. The great fault *they* would find with Ames would be, that he admitted more *than two* into the list of the able and deserving. *They* never did admit a greater number than that.

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No. 4.

The opinion which we are about to examine, in this pamphlet on the Governour's speech, is, with the single exception of the author's justification of the tyranny of Bonaparte, the most debasing of any which has ever been broached in this country. In the following opinion our author stands *alone*. Others have ventured to condemn the *manner* in which the Federalists have treated the government. *He alone* contends, that they have no right to *inquire or investigate, or remark* on the measures of government. For such a man our country is too free. Such doctrines might be received at Algiers or Constantinople.

speaking of the Governour's speech he says,

“ He fastens at once on the *very* subject with which of *all others* he had *no concern*, and institutes an *inquiry* into the conduct of the General Government. The Houses imitate this brilliant example, and with a laudable docility take up the thread of his excellency's argument. The contagion spreads—our *country towns* receive their messages from the Legislature, and echo them with new inquiries into the conduct of the General Government. Now however *honest and well meaning* may be our *brethren in the country*, however *sage and eloquent* the members of our Legislature, however *venerable and patriotic* our Chief Magistrate, and however competent they may be to arrange the affairs of *any other* nation, it seems not a *little singular* they should think proper to exercise their talents *precisely on the individual subject* which they with a sober deliberate choice, committed to the conduct of a different body.”

We dare not trust ourselves with the expression of the pity which we feel for the insolent, ironical and sarcastic tone in which the above novel and degrading sentiments are conveyed, and the utter

want of respect for the Governour, Legislature, and people of our *Country towns* which he discovers. Such sentiments, so expressed, need only to be presented distinctly, to be repelled with indignation.

We shall not enter into any laboured argument to shew, that those opinions are subversive of all freedom, a reproach on our revolution, and would tend to reduce the people to a state of abject slavery. For if it be true, that the commission to the rulers at Washington, deprives the people of a right to deliberate, and express their opinions on the measures of those rulers, it is equally true that the people of this state, having once confided to their own state rulers all the residue of their powers, they cannot inquire into, or express their opinions of the measures of the latter.

We mean simply to reply to the above extraordinary and unique opinions by facts.

The bill of rights guarantees to the people the right to assemble and express their opinions freely, on all the measures of their rulers.

The British nation have always considered that they had a right to assemble in their common councils, in their shires, and even in their small boroughs, to express freely their sentiments about the expediency, and justice of wars, or concerning any other important measures of their government.

In the cases of the impeachment of Lord Melville, and of the removal of the Duke of York, some millions of people did thus assemble in England and Scotland, and express their opinions on these less-important questions.

Yet our author denies to the State Legislatures of our country this right. But unhappily for our writer, the precedents in our country on the side of the *true men*, as he would call them, the *friends of government*, are all against him. The first expression of public opinion about the measures of the National Government was that of the late Gov. Hancock. When Congress passed a law authorizing *individuals* to sue the several states, Gov Hancock assembled the Legislature *specially* to take *that encroachment* into consideration. He

represented it in glowing colours. The late Gov. Sullivan, then Attorney-General, supported the Governour by a popular pamphlet. This State *resisted the pretension*, and the power was taken away from the National Government. It is to be remarked that in *that case all parties* admitted the power to exist in Congress.

We ask our author, whether a trifling power, like that, which would not be exercised in one case in a thousand, and which was *distinctly given* to the National Government, could be as lawfully opposed as one of a *doubtful character*, like the embargo, resting in inference, and which Mr. Dexter declares does not exist? and whether, if the States have a right to discuss *some* National measures which affect nothing but their *pride*, they have not an equal or greater right to discuss those which affect their "*vital interests*," those which "*aim* (as the very honourable friend of the author, Mr. Dexter says) a fatal blow at our dearest interests."

Again—Samuel Adams, the succeeding Governour, always addressed the Legislature against the measures of the National Government. Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Plumer, Gov. Tompkins, Gov. Snyder, have *filled* their speeches entirely with *National* affairs. They undertook to decide on the Chesapeake affair, on the controversy with Rose, with Jackson, on the repeal of the Berlin decree on impressment and the orders in Council. The several *State Legislatures* in the *interest* of the *National* government gave their opinions on *these measures*. Will our learned author and jurist, the pupil of an unblemished master, say, that you may discuss provided you *approve*, but if you cannot *find cause* to *approve* you must *not discuss*? Is this his theory?—Were those *republican* governours not as liable to error in *approving*, as Governour Strong the friend of Washington, the framer of the Constitution and its most zealous supporter, in condemning measures as violations of the Constitution?

Further. Does our pamphleteer deny the right of the citizens in their little literary clubs, and by their fire sides, to inquire into and examine the great po-

litical questions on which the happiness and prosperity of the Country depend? If they may do it verbally, may they not write about them as our *author* has done? He has discussed all the measures of the General Government. To be sure he *approves them all*. But Mr. Dexter does not. He condemns many, and without *mercy*. The Embargo and the invasion of Canada are execrable in his eyes.

Well then; permit a simple man who is not among the literati, to ask, whether if one man, or ten men, can consult, deliberate, discuss and publish their opinions, cannot the Legislature or the Governour do the same? Or is their selection from among the wisest and best, and the confidence of the people reposed in them, a disqualification to do that which Mr. Adams's pupil or Mr. Dexter may lawfully do? We only wish to have this knotty point of civil rights settled. Perhaps our author may think that "*Country towns* and our *Country brethren*" have no right to give their opinions—that this only belongs to those who have been educated by a master.

"Qui ne m'a jamais appris a faire une bassesse."

If this be really so, it will follow, that as three quarters of our citizens are from the *Country*, three quarters of them are disfranchised and forbidden to express their opinions.

We call this a slavish and most impertinent doctrine, and we defy our author to defend it.

The last authority we shall cite on this question is a book written by John Jay, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, and if I was not afraid of offending our author's master, I should say they were among the *ablest men* in America. I allude to the *Federalist*.—This book was written to induce the people to accept the constitution. In answer to an objection that the *Government* was too distant, and that the people could not know their measures, they made the following reply, "The impediments to a prompt communication which *distance* may be supposed to create, will be overbalanced by the effects of the vigilance of the *State Governments*."

"The *executive* and legislative bodies

of the state will be so many sentinels over the persons employed in every branch of the general government and as it will be in their *power* to adopt and *pursue a regular course or system of intelligence* they can never be at a loss to *know* the behaviour of those who represent their constituents in the national councils, and can readily *communicate the same knowledge to their constituents*.

"We may conclude with the *fullest assurance* that the people will *through that channel* be *better informed* of the conduct of their National rulers than they now are of that of their state representatives."

Here our author will perceive these great men who framed the constitution, went so far as to suppose the state governments would appoint *agents* to *watch* the measures of the national government; such as we had in England before the war, and that they would regularly communicate *all their knowledge* to the people; not only when danger was foreseen, but in a common course of procedure. Such were the hopes they held out to the people, and on these hopes the Constitution was adopted.

No. 5.

One would have supposed that it would have satisfied any man of moderate ambition, that he had devoted fifty pages to calumnies against Gov. Strong, written in a strain of invective, as bitter as that of Junius, without his wit; that he had attacked the rights of the state, rulers and people, that he had defended the most atrocious measures under which his native state is now bleeding, and that he would not have thought it necessary precisely at the moment, when all the world is deserting Bonaparte, to have come out with an apology for him. At the end of a chapter, in which he endeavours to wipe away the stain of *French influence* he attacks the Gov. for having pronounced an opinion that the conduct of the late rulers of France was unexampled.

Whether this was done to shew how much more he knew than the Gov. or that he was a friend to tyrannical doctrines and conduct in Europe as well as

America, or that he had all the qualifications requisite to recommend him to the favor of administration, we know not. This we do know, that he could not have offered up incense more acceptable to the rulers of this happy nation.

The Governor had said, that previously to the French revolution "there was *seldom* an instance among civilized nations, in which a Prince or government engaging in a war without *alleging* reasons to justify the measure, and though in some cases the motives were *unjust*, the reasons assigned were *specious*, and in *pretence* at least were *founded in necessity*. But the French Emperor has thought fit to dispense with these forms, and to wage war without even a pretence of injury."

We should have supposed no man in Europe or America not in the service the Emperor would have quarrelled with these opinions.

The Governor is not only one of the most discriminating, but one of the most guarded and cautious writers. He does not say there was *no instances* of a like kind before the revolution, but that they *rarely occurred*. He admits the motives of *other kings* were sometimes unjust, but that they had, so much respect for the opinions of the world, that they assigned *specious* reasons for their conduct. How does our author treat this opinion? Directly under the quotation itself, he goes on to assume that the Governor had said that the monarchs before the revolution who waged war, were *'always on the side of justice,'* and then proceeds to blow away this airy image of his own creation. We quote the passage to shew that such a man cannot be reasoned with. He not only is perpetually wrong in his facts, but even when he cites, he instantly perverts them. "We cannot help observing in relation to this opinion, says our author, that in every quarrel there must be *two sides*, and that both cannot possibly be right; so that if the aggressors before the French revolution were *always on the side of justice*, the party attacked must have been guilty of some proportionable injustice, and we really do not see that this singular fact if strictly correct, would have lessened the sum total of political injustice. We however, ques-

“tion the correctness of the *fact*.” Now what is the *fact* of which he speaks? That the aggressors before the revolution were *always on the side of justice*. Did the governor say this, or even imitate it? No. He strongly intimates the country. Nay he admits that the *motives* were sometimes *unjust* and the *reasons specious*. Our author having thus adroitly perverted the Governor’s language, and made out such a case as he should *like* to answer, goes on to display his learning by proving what nobody denied, that many wars have been commenced without justifiable cause. Before he gets through, his disposition to misrepresentation entirely gets the advantage of his memory, and he represents the Governor’s words as *directly opposite* to what they really were. He says, “without pretending to doubt the Governor’s authority, we cannot but think it rather a *specious* than *solid* reason why 500 Spanish soldiers should put to death as many millions of Americans, that they were entitled to do so by the right of discovery.” Here the Governor is by implication represented as having said, that the reasons of former wars were *solid and not specious*. It is a very easy thing much more easy than honourable, to answer any speech in such a manner; to make the speech what you please, and then reply to it.

But the most degrading part of this answer to the Gov. on this topic is, that it is an indirect, and not *very* indirect apology for the greatest monster that the world ever produced. “We should entertain, says he, a lurking suspicion, that the passions of men are similar in all ages, and that kings and subjects were pretty much the same sort of animals before the French revolution as they have been since.” This appears to be intended as an apology for the horrors of the French revolution and of the tyranny of Napoleon.

If such an author had lived at Rome, he would not have perished at Utica with Cato, but would like Anthony have followed at the heels of Cæsar: If in Greece he would have praised Philip, rather than have hazarded his liberty and life with Demosthenes.

We shall now give another example shewing a disposition to agologize for France, or a strange propensity to mis-

representation or what is most charitable, an utter ignorance of the facts which are necessary to form a political judgment. Our author says,

“Why was England, it is sometimes sagaciously inquired, selected as our enemy? We answer because the injuries of England were immediate, operative and *real*, those of France consisted in *empty menace* or contemptuous language.”

Now if this was intended for poetry, it is mighty well. It certainly has one quality which would make us believe it; it is all *fiction*.

We *must* presume, and we do in truth presume that our author knows nothing of the facts. Shut up in his study, despising the common dull men of the Exchange, unacquainted with the losses and sufferings of the merchants, he is probably perfectly ignorant of the facts. He finds nothing about *French depredations* in Chateaubriand, Kant or Kotzebue and he has read the Patriot, and Madison’s speeches, and Monroe’s letters, and he really believes, that the French decrees were a *dead letter*. If he had descended from the Parnassian mount to the dull purlieus of trading men, if he had had the misfortune as we have had, but which we certainly do not wish *him* of owning a few thousand dollars insurance stock, his *theory* might have yielded to his *experience*.

Let me tell this gentleman, that even Armstrong admitted that the seizures under the Rambouillet decree amounted *alone* to seventeen millions of dollars; that the sum was so great, that he thought *that consideration only* would prevent, as it has prevented, the repayment of it. But perhaps our author with reply, will Mr. Madison, “*THAT* property was seized under a *mere municipal* regulation, and not under the haughty decrees;” *that* was a box on the ear, and not an application to the seat of honour; or perhaps (as he is so fond of Bonaparte) he may adopt *his* language, that it was a *reprisal* for seizures which we *might* have made but *did not*, under our non-intercourse act. That is your true *French* ground, which our author’s master would probably take.

But if he meets us with these *replies*, we have another ground on which he *cannot* meet us: The French captures

AT SEA under *the decrees*, and even *after* their pretended repeal, were greater than those of Britain under her orders, though the former only stole out of port by one or two vessels at a time, and the other had five hundred ships at sea.

We do not, like our author, deal in generals; France has captured AT SEA from the people of *Massachusetts alone*, under the Berlin and Milan *decrees*, and condemned, more than one million of dollars, and five hundred thousand, since *their pretended repeal*, which our author has proved to his own satisfaction to be a *real one*.

We would advise our literary friend to turn out of his study and condescend to visit the world before he states facts, and builds splendid theories upon them. Let him walk up to the Messrs. Curtis's at the South End, and ask them about their vessel and valuable cargo burnt under the decrees at a period after our author thought them repealed. Let him ask John Parker, Esq. and others, the owners of a valuable ship, the Catharine, Ockington, master, condemned by the Emperor in person under the decrees, 13 months after their pretended repeal. Let him go to the North American, Madisonian Insurance Office, and see the sums that have been paid for French captures, and then repeat if he can, that these injuries were only "empty menaces or contemptuous language."—It is necessary sometimes to let one's self down to the level of human nature. The plodders, and industrious men who do not know Latin and Greek, who are unacquainted with Cicero, and never had any intercourse with Isocrates and Aristotle, can sometimes give us information which cannot be found even in Stephens' Thesaurus, or in any German poems. For this world as it is, and bad as it is, it is expedient to know something of *affairs*, as well as books. We know however that our author despises these maxims of common sense.

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No. 6.

It was our intention at first, to have entered the field of controversy with our author, and to have examined his reasoning, but on a closer inspection we found so many cases of assumed facts, which had no foundation, so many in which there was a *petitio principii*, to use our learned

author's sort of phraseology, that it was vain to attempt to reason with such a writer. All correct reasoning on public measures requiring a strict adherence to acknowledged facts, the moment a writer sets evidence at defiance, and supplies it by round assertion, there is an end to argument.

We shall however in the present article, present to our readers a fair specimen of our author's manner and powers. If it shall be thought ludicrous it must not be imputed to us. We give it in his own language. After stating very prudently, and it is almost the only prudent thing which we can observe in his pamphlet, that the question of expatriation is long, and *difficult* and *intricate*, and therefore the author does not enter into it, he says that he *fully* agrees with the government on this subject; that is, he has made up his mind on this *long* and *intricate* and *difficult* question.

Having said this, in order to knock down with a sturdy blow the contumacious men who differ from him on this difficult question, he adds, "It is not however one of the least of the many absurdities continually brought forward by the *movers of insurrection* (by whom he intends Strong and others) that one of their principal arguments in favour of throwing off allegiance, is, that the subject has no right to throw off allegiance in any case whatever. They threaten to *rebel* against the government, for contending that the citizen has in certain cases a right to *rebel*; for most certainly the right to rebel includes the minor right to *withdraw*, and the citizen must be his own judge in one case as well as the other. Thus they reduce themselves to a most perplexing dilemma, for if they are right in their *doctrine*, they are wrong in their *practice*, because on their own principles they have no right of *resistance* in any case whatsoever." This is what in the schools they call *nil*, we suppose.

We did not dare to trust this laughable argument to our own representation of it; indeed we could not have expressed it any terms of double the extent that would have been so happily ludicrous. It follows then from our learned author's reasoning, that the United States people have no right to *resist* oppression,

without admitting that every man in the state has an equal right to shoot his governor and blow up the Legislature. It follows, of course, that when Congress rebelled in 1776, against Great Britain, every *Tory* had a *right* to resist them, and if a *right*, all punishment of him was an act of tyranny. This doctrine would go to prove either that there can be no legitimate resistance to arbitrary usurpation or tyranny, or else that universal anarchy must be the lawful consequence.

We put other cases. *Society* claims the right to punish the highway robber, the burglar, the murderer—therefore it follows, says our author, that every single man has an equal right to judge for himself, and take away the life of every man who offends him or violates his rights.

Because a nation or a state (sovereign for certain purposes) claims the right to inquire whether its delegates have performed their duty, or have been guilty of usurpation, and if they find they have, to refuse obedience to the usurped power, it follows, says our author, that every man has an equal right to throw off his allegiance at pleasure. Wat Tyler, and the parliament of 1688, were equally justifiable. So were the Congress of 1776, and Daniel Shays, or the German insurgent Fries.

Will any man censure us for laughing at such a writer, or for refusing to reason soberly with him? Let those reason soberly who can; we must be excused from such a waste of time.

Another specimen of the high reasoning powers of our author, will be met with in his argument on the embargo.

He contends that because Congress have the *greater* power of regulating Foreign commerce, à fortiori, they must have the *minor* one of forbidding the coasting trade.

We cannot do him justice without quoting his very expressions. "None but himself can be his parallel."

"Is it to be supposed for a moment, that when those interests, so much *more* important in themselves than the coasting trade between parts of the same state, were implicitly committed to Congress, that the latter was reserved as a thing too sacred to be placed at their disposal? Is all this commerce (the India trade &c.) at their mercy to suspend and modify at

pleasure, and are Hingham packets and Eastern coasters, the only things that float thesea too important to be committed to our delegated rulers? too momentous to be intrusted to any hands but our own?"

We shall only answer this by some ironical questions in *our turn*; We may use a little irony now, and then, as well as our author. Have Congress a right to regulate your passage over the ocean, and have they not the *lesser* right of preventing your passing by *land* from state to state? If from state to state, is it not ridiculous to contend, that they cannot interdict you from passing from your house to your barn or outhouses? If then it be clear, that Congress can forbid your passing from your house to your outhouses, is the right to pass from your chamber to your parlour or your kitchen "too momentous to be intrusted to any hands but your own?" Again, Congress have power to regulate commerce. They may forbid the sale or even importation of *whole* cargoes of valuable goods. Have they not the meaner and more trivial right of forbidding the sale of butter and eggs, and tom-cods? Or "are these rights too momentous to be entrusted to any hands but our own?"

We are sensible, that this is very humble writing, but in truth, we cannot think any other mode of reply suited to such arguments.

We shall close the present remarks, by citing one or two examples of the liberty our author takes with what the world *calls facts*.

"We are not aware of any claim made by our Government to exempt *British seamen* from their *allegiance* to their own country. We presume your Excellency has some private documents on this head, that may be the subject of a future message."

If this is a mere equivocal, if the term *British seamen* means to exclude all that we are pleased to christen *American*, it is a *pun*, truly worthy of the arguments we have above cited.

But if it is meant to deny, that our Government claims to exempt from their allegiance, native born Englishmen, it is I *had almost said*, an unblushing untruth.—We are at war on this very point. The very last statute passed by Congress on this subject, claims the right to protect all

naturalized seamen of Great Britain against their lawful and leige sovereign. The British officers arrested and held as hostages are for Englishmen, taken in our service *never naturalized*; we say this because the President does not dare to say *they were*.

Mr. Hay, the son in law of Monroe, has written a plausible pamphlet to prove our right to exempt British subjects from their allegiance. This pamphlet was sent to *Governour Strong* by the Secretary of state; and yet we are told that it did not appear that our Government *claimed this right*.

Our author has cited a letter of Gen. Hamilton's at large, to prove two points; first, the existence of a plan for a separation of the states, secondly his disapprobation, *pointed* disapprobation of it.

We have nothing to do with the manner in which this private correspondence is laid before the public. From the honourable feelings of Judge Sedgwick, we know *he* could not have given it. From our knowledge and high respect for his children, we are convinced they would not have given a copy to be used for *such a purpose*. It is an unfair and incorrect application of the letter. But it is the inscrutable course of Providence to bring good out of evil. This letter *however procured, and published with whatever designs*, is a complete exculpation of the Federal party.

In his life, Hamilton was its leader.— We were justly proud of him. *He* was the man represented ambitious by *either Adams*. Yet this ambitious man, frowned on the idea of separation. The letter does not intimate, that *any man* had seriously *contemplated a separation*. It would rather seem that Judge Sedgwick must have written to him for his opinion on that subject. What is his reply?— “I will here express, says he, but one sentiment, which is, that *‘dismemberment of our Empire will be a clear sacrifice of great positive advantages, without any counterbalancing good.’* That sentiment we know to have been *uniformly* and still to be that of *every able and distinguished federalist in Massachusetts*, the calumnies of this author to the contrary notwithstanding. We have something more to say to him on this topic.

As we have abandoned the idea of reasoning with our author, as an useless and idle task, we had proposed to conclude our remarks at this time with some explanation of the manner in which we have taken the liberty to treat his essays. But there are one or two paragraphs out of an hundred most extraordinary ones, which deserve a little attention. It costs us so little labour, and as it may do some good by deterring others from writing on subjects they do not comprehend, and from publishing pamphlets without a due comparison of the gross inconsistencies which they may contain, we think we owe it to those who may have a strong desire for premature fame, to exhibit one or two other examples of the weakness of our author.

The subject of the separation of the states is one on which he loves to dwell. It is probably owing to the authority and weight of his patron, from whose writings our author has made most liberal quotations, at least as to *sentiments and opinions*. This subject is naturally a favourite one, because it awakens popular prejudices, and as it involves great mystery, and is obscured by a very dense mist, the imagination has more room for display.

“What then, says our author, is the *motive* of the opposition that now agitates the Legislature of Massachusetts? We must look for it in the settled, long-meditated intention of the leading federalists of this state to separate the Union and establish in New-England an independent sovereignty. Ever since they found it impossible to govern the United States, their daily and nightly labours have been devoted to this favourite object. This has been the subject of *secret meetings and secret correspondencies*.”

If an honorable man had really scught with upright views for the motives of the measures of the federalists, and the causes of the great disgust at the course of our National policy, it does seem to us, that if he had had any love for that *best* portion of the Union, the place of his nativity; if he had possessed in due force those ingenuous feelings which form the charm of youth, he would readily have found these motives and causes, without

giving way to that suspicious temper which appears to have produced the above quoted remarks. He might have found them in the utter contempt expressed for the People of New-England, the disregard of their repeated petitions and remonstrance; in the destruction of their trade, in the promotion of their most desperate, despicable, abandoned men, to offices of place and power; in the entire ruin of all the small seaport towns on the extended coast of Massachusetts, in the defenceless state in which they have been left; in the sarcasms uttered against this portion of the country by members of Congress. These causes would have warmed any generous mind, and carried it far above the selfish feelings of ambition.

But our author prefers to attribute the moderated, and regulated expressions of discontent which have appeared in Massachusetts to the darkest and basest motives; and he adds that these were the objects of *secret* meetings and *secret* correspondencies. If they were *secret*, pray how has our author arrived at the *knowledge* of them? Was he privy to them, and has he betrayed the confidence? If this be the case, we challenge him and we invite him to name the place, the actors and the counsels proposed and adopted in such meetings. We defy him to do it, and if he does not meet the defiance, he is at least chargeable with rashness. Or has he had the audacity to make the definite charge as of a fact within his own knowledge without any evidence? He is not here speaking of newspaper paragraphs or speeches in the legislature, but he affirms, as of his *own knowledge* that such have been the objects of secret meetings and secret correspondence.

We know it to be *utterly untrue*.

The leading federalists of Massachusetts, if there are any men who can be so considered, must include the men most distinguished for their talents, virtues, property and influence. Is it credible that such men, many of whom have either abandoned all public employment, and have sought to pass their days in retirement, are willing to hazard the result of revolution, and civil commotion in order to obtain what? Thankless and bootless offices in a reduced republic, where it is much more

probable from its diminished size that democratic principles and measures would obtain.

The Hon. Mr. Quincy is the only person whom our author has been pleased to *honour by name*, as among the leading federalists. The author must have heard of, and known the history, if he had not the happiness of a personal acquaintance with this gentleman.

Does he believe, that a man who has devoted his life to letters, and to the best interests of his country, a man upon whom descended such a noble inheritance in the fame of his father, as the great champion of liberty; a man of affluence most honourably acquired, a man beloved and respected by every man whose love and respect would be an object of desire; a man surrounded by such rising hopes in a numerous offspring, would put at hazard all these blessings, would play the part of Burr, Shays or Wat Tyler, in order to run his one hundredth chance of being an officer in a New England confederacy?

No man whose mind was not already excited by inordinate and incorrect ambition, would have dreamed of such a suggestion.

Our author then either knows these men and their *secret* views, or he does not. If he knows them let him come out, and do justice to the public by denouncing them *by name*. If he dare not, let him not shoot his arrows indiscriminately among the virtuous and upright part of society.

Our author, after deciding, as if he had been a Mansfield or a Marshall, on the *constitutionality of the Embargo*, says,

“If a measure be unconstitutional *we are justified in resisting it*--if distressing only, we can only solicit relief. Since then they (the federalists) *must know* it is *unconstitutional*” he infers they ought not to oppose it.

We thank our author for this concession, though it is opposed to Mr. Dexter. Our author is the first democrat who has admitted the right of *resistance* in case the embargo is unconstitutional.

We stop here and ask, if the Federal party really believe, universally, that the embargo is not only unconstitutional,

but the worst breach of the constitution ever committed or which *could* be committed, how are they to *act*? How are they to be governed, by their own opinions, honestly formed, or by that of our author? If they look to the late Chief Justice Parsons, they find him decidedly of opinion that the first embargo was a *gross and flagrant violation* of the constitution. If they turn their eyes downwards upon Mr. Dexter, they find him as clearly and strongly of the same opinion.—Every lawyer in the state, that we have conversed with, except the few democratic ones, are of the same opinion.

If men then must act according to the light which it has pleased God to give them, and if exercising a conscientious discretion, they still entertain an opinion opposite to that of our learned author, will he not admit that they have a right to resist according to his own concession?

To what praise then, instead of censure, are these men entitled, who having, according to our author, a right to resist, have moderated their passions, restrained their feelings, and instead of proceeding to resistance have simply uttered their objections in the style of remonstrance and complaint?

Recollect that Mr. Dexter's opinions are *ours* on this subject; and of Mr. Dexter our author says, "he is a man in whom federalists can place *implicit confidence*. This they could not do unless they could put implicit confidence in his opinions. We wish our author, in the vial of wrath, which he will doubtless pour out on our unlettered heads, would be gracious enough to answer this *particular point*, somewhat *distinctly if he can*, viz: If in following Mr. Dexter's opinions *implicitly*, which he advises us to do, we find the embargo unconstitutional, we may *not resist*, and a fortiori scold?"

As we have only room on our paper to notice one more unhappy mistake of our author, we shall advert to his remarks on the duty of a loyal people to be silent and united in *all wars* in which their country may be engaged.

"No political maxim is more *trite*, than that foreign hostilities should be the signal for internal parties to cease their contentions. Such was the noble

conduct of the Romans: Such, to quote an example *much more seducing to our adversaries*, is the noble conduct of modern Britons." A sneer on British influence among his friends and connections.

Now when such a man, fresh from his books states a fact, it would naturally appeal an unlearned reviewer like ourselves. But so far from this being a *most trite maxim*, we doubt whether it can be found in any but the basest and most slavish writers. It was not the conduct of the Romans; and *much less is it the conduct of the modern Britons*. In a war which a whole nation think just, they are of course agreed, and in *that war united*. That is the case in Britain as to *our war*. They are on the defensive, the whole nation (clamorous as the opposition was before) are of *opinion against us*. But neither in the revolutionary American war, nor in the French war, of 1793, were they united. They opposed it more bitterly than *we* do ours; they opposed the loans; they opposed the raising armies, they opposed the ways and means. They forced the King to peace.

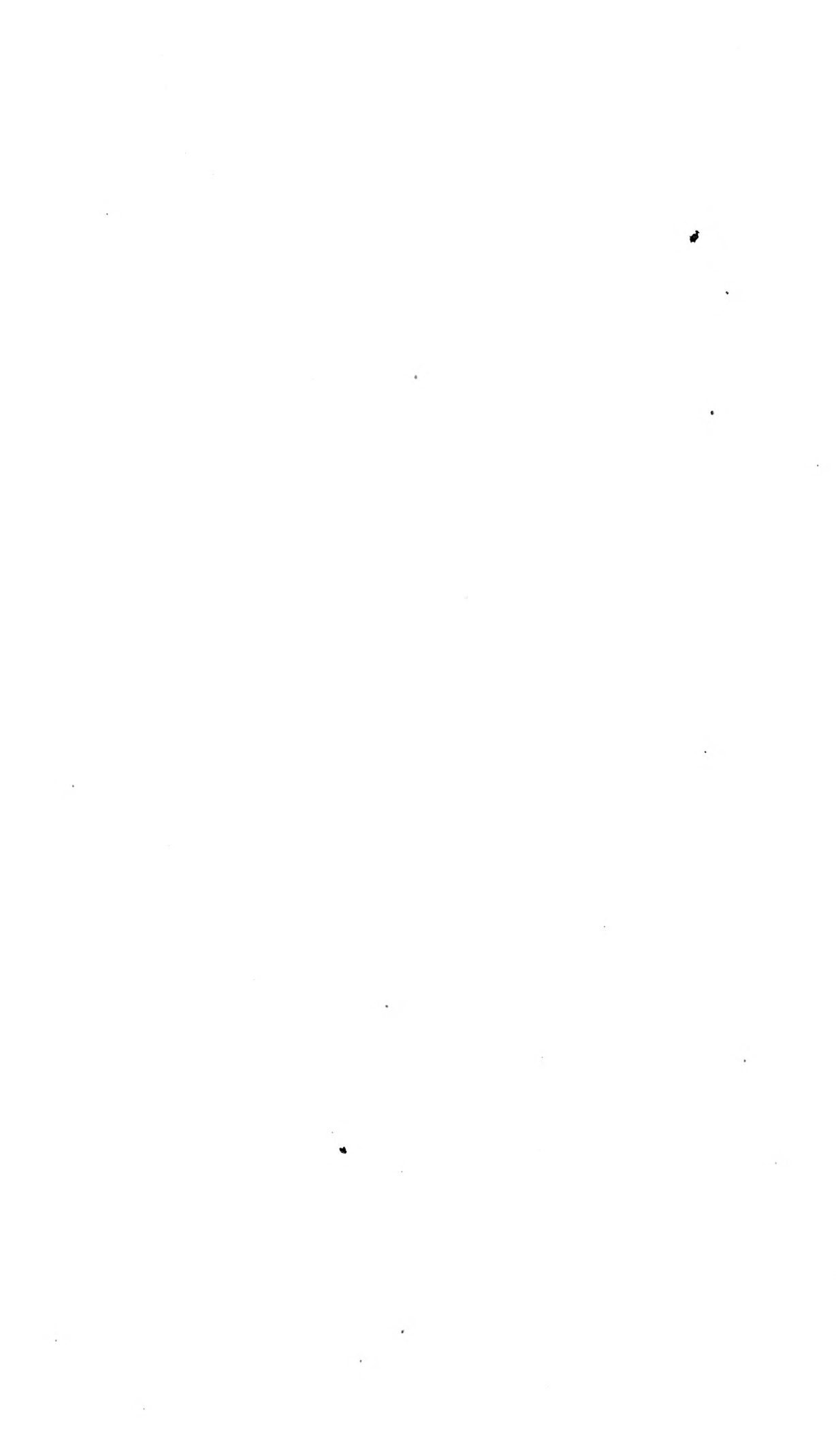
To be a little more precise, we would refer our author to the debates in the British Parliament in Dec. 1718, after war was declared with Spain. Mr. Shippen declared he did not see the necessity of involving the *nation in war*, and opposed the addresses to the King. Horace Walpole also attacked the war, and it is added by the historian, that this war was *not a favorite of the people*. In the course of that same Parliament, Earl Strafford declared the war had been undertaken without necessity or just provocation; and even in the war of 1738, into which Sir Robert Walpole was forced by the people, the Earl of Chesterfield, Mr. Pitt and others, often attacked the war itself, and finally drove the minister who declared the war, from office. This was equivalent to our turning the President out for the same cause. As to the Romans, about whom our author has advanced a round assertion, we have not their debates, but we know there were great heats in the Senate concerning the expediency of prosecuting existing wars. We will quote one strong case. When Crassus, in the

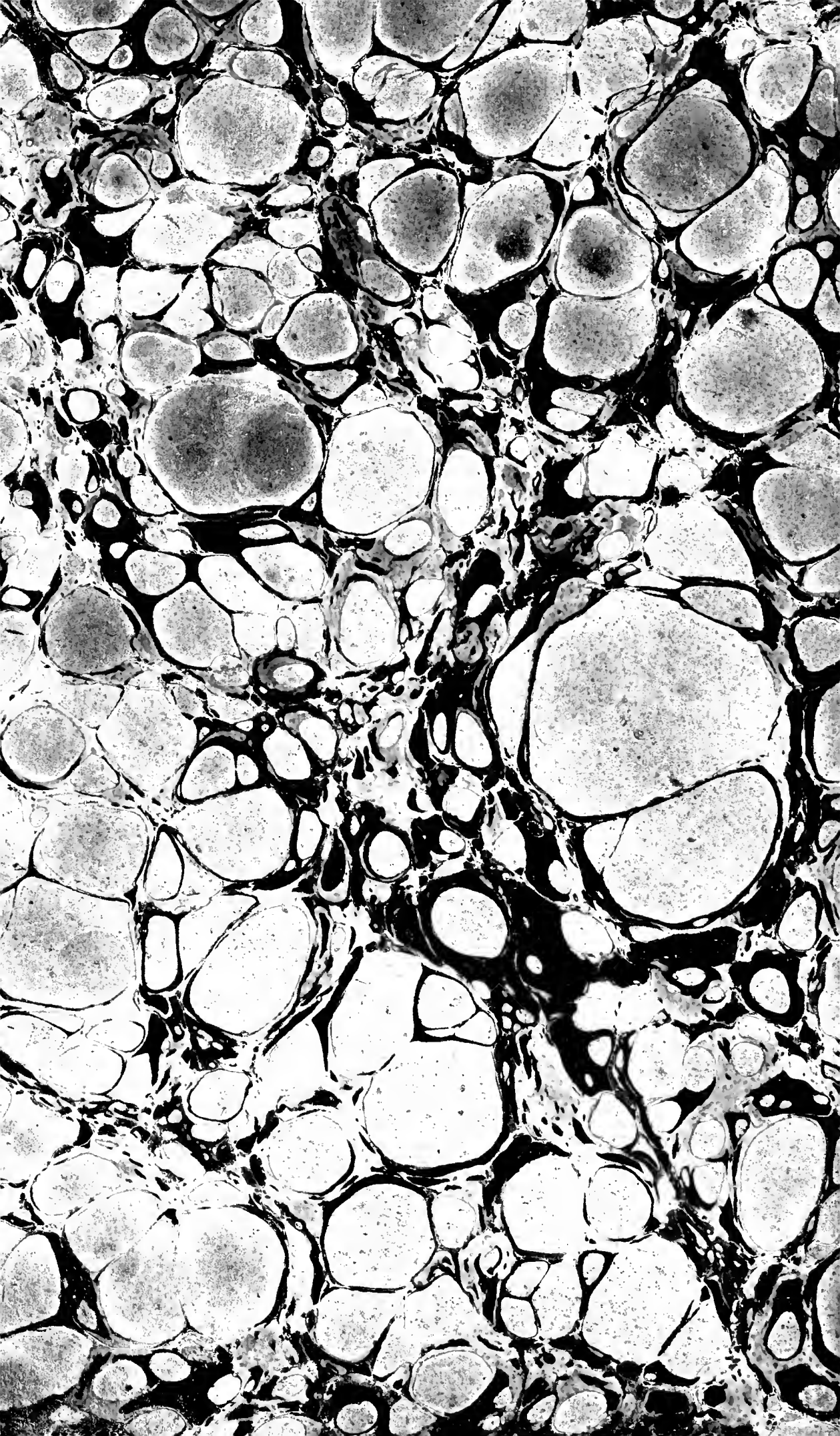
Parthian war, defiled with his legions through the gates of Rome, the war was so unpopular, that Atteius the Augurs, attended in his sacred habiliments, and denounced in the name of the God, a curse, on the war and on the arms of the legions. Several writers say that this denunciation produced a dreadful effect on the spirits of the common soldiers. There is no other remedy for an abused and injured people when plunged into wars by corrupt, wicked ambitious ministers, than to oppose its progress, to withhold their aid, to pray to heaven, that their projects may be defeated, and that they may be forced to make peace. Would our wicked administration, if flushed with unjust conquests, be more inclined to peace? certainly not; and yet on them, and on them alone depends the question whether any peace shall be made. If they demand only what a just God has given us, and do not desire to infringe the rights of others, they may have peace at any hour. They never would have had war.

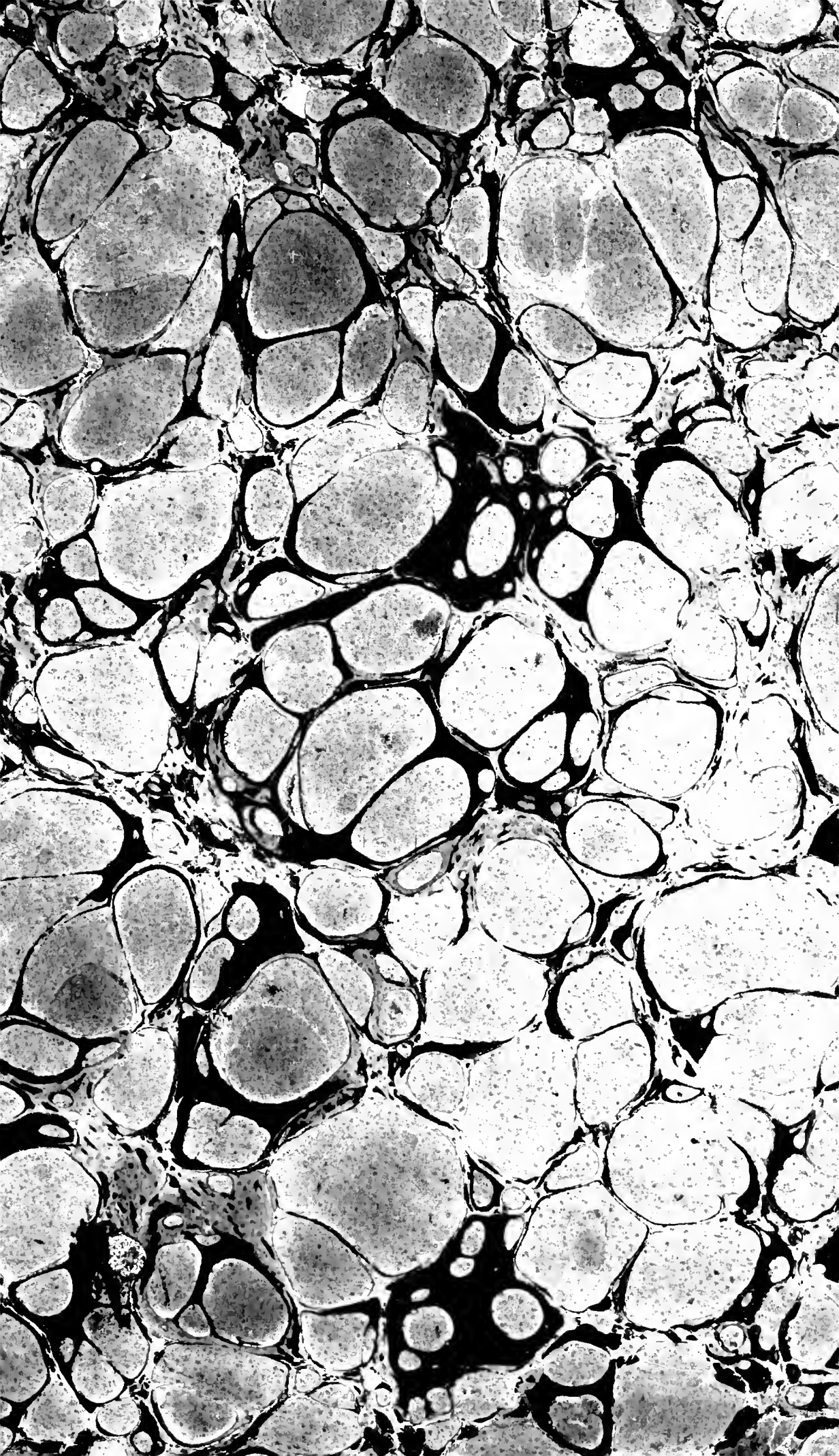
No. 8.

There is a characteristic bitterness and disposition to detraction which is observable throughout this pamphlet. In giving an history of the repeal of the orders in council, he devotes four pages to a digression, on purpose to shew us that he spent several weeks in England; that he has weighed all the British ministry in the hollow of his hand and found them deficient, that the Prince Regent had an adulterous connection with the Marchioness of Hertford; that our author feels for the poor Catholic "clanking his chains," that he thinks monarchical governments a folly and a curse, but principally to utter a sneering expression at Governour Strong, which has been repeated only once a week by Binns and Duane and the Patriot, viz. that the Prince Regent was first magistrate of the "bulwark of our Religion." So foreign was it to his subject, that when he had finished he was compelled to say "We come now to the point which connects this narrative with the repeal of the orders in Council." Let any body who has curiosity read this discussion about the orders in council and he will see that from the

20th to 25th page, all might have been comprised in this simple thought. "The death of the Prime Minister, and the difficulties in forming a new ministry delayed the decision on the orders in Council." All the rest is irrelevant, disconnected, and affords a proof of a strong propensity to backbiting and reproach. Our objections to this mode of conduct towards the Governments of foreign nations, are, that it is not courteous, or catholic or gentlemanly; our being at war with Britain does not render it more justifiable; let it be true or not that the Prince Regent is immoral, it is a subject with which we have nothing to do: To assail the Marchioness of Hertford by name, is a proof that learning does not always make men gallant or delicate: We agree with Voltaire, that it is not probable Princes call in witnesses to their amours, and though our author makes the round assertion that every individual in London knew it was a matter of notoriety, yet we feel assured he never had this fact from any body, that had ever seen the Prince or Marchioness nearer than through an opera glass at Drury-lane. What a flame our author would be in if Mr. Malthus or Mr. Stephen or any of the British scholars should on a question, which had nothing to do with it, adopt the suggestions of the scandalous *Chronicle* of our capital, should assail the virtue of Mrs. Madison, and attribute the French war to an intrigue with Mr. Serrurier!! Still more angry would he be if such a writer should interfere with our local disputes as he does with the Catholic question. Another remark we would make, and that is, that for a young man, resident so short a time in England, it does seem to be a little presumptuous and unguarded and weak to speak of Mr. Perceval as being respectable merely because he was among pygmies, and as inferior to the lawyers of Massachusetts. A man who had any desire to preserve a character for sound judgment would not have repeated the silly tales of opposition as facts. Whatever men may say of the talents of Liverpool, Castlereagh and Perceval, the world will recollect, that they managed the affairs of the greatest nation in Europe, in such a manner, that even their personal enemies, men almost as learned and great as our author, the Lords Gran,







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